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their juniors with red pepper and Tabasco sauce? The secret lies, I believe, in the silver buttons and rooster-tail-feathers which they are obliged to wear. A reversion to the infancy of the race in costume is sure to bring with it a reversion in spirit. There is a world of philosophy on this subject to be derived from a study of our national military anthem. I do not think we have ever paid half the attention it deserves to "Yankee Doodle." It is a patriotic duty we have neglected. The higher criticism ought to turn its attention to getting a correct version of this national hymn. I have asked several persons about it, and find their versions differ. Here is the best I can make out of it:

"Yankee Doodle came to town
Riding on a pony."

That was a very reasonable thing to do. So far we have no fault to find with the conduct of our hero. That was written a hundred and twenty years ago, before the invention of railways and trolley-cars; the carriage roads were not good, and it was a perfectly natural thing for a man to do to come to town on a pony. But let us go on with the story:

"He stuck a feather in his cap,
And called it macaroni."

You will remark that as soon as he ornamented himself with the feather, he began to act irrationally, and employ language which has no apparent meaning. This miniature epic is evidently an allegory. The feather represents the military uniform as its most conspicuous feature, and the moral shows the disastrous effect upon the intellect of donning soldier-clothes. But there is more than this in the song. Have you ever crossed the ocean on a German liner? They always have a great dinner on the last night and the band plays all the national airs, finishing up with "Yankee Doodle," and the Americans all say, "How much finer the other hymns are! Why have we nothing better?" The deep penetration of the author of the words and the composer of the music of "Yankee Doodle" is shown in the fact that they deliberately committed our nation to the comic view of militarism. Other nations take it seriously. Their hymns of war are grave, ponderous chants, from which the element of humor is rigidly excluded. It was left for the American poet to put the soldier in his true and comic light.

Cervantes has often been erroneously credited with bringing the age of chivalry to a close in a roar of laughter. This is of course a mistake. It was not chivalry, but the literature of chivalry, that Don Quixote ended. There is an opportunity to-day for a new Cervantes to perform a far greater exploit than has ever been ascribed to the Spanish author. A new Don Quixote might, nay, could, make the profession of war impossible by opening our eyes to the irresistible comicality of it. Mr. Dooley has done excellent work in this direction. Mark Twain has given some evidence of his insight into the truth. Will not one of these gentlemen, or some other genius yet to be discovered, turn his winged shafts squarely against war and the war-maker? When another Cervantes shall have decked out another soldier Don Quixote in his true colors,—when he shall have laid bare the childishness of the paint and tinsel that have so long held us under their spell,—then indeed the twentieth century will be able to boast of a greater star in literature than has as yet appeared, and bold indeed

will be the "hero" who will thereafter select war as a career. Such a book would ring down the curtain upon the profession of the soldier.

The Commercial Aspects of War.

BY EDWARD ATKINSON.

I have been asked to say a few words on the commercial aspects of war. I have put these words upon paper in order to give the utmost force of which I am capable to every word by which the "hell of war" may be exposed, its horrible atrocities being only matched by its grotesque folly in the present age. I shall say nothing that can be deemed an imputation upon the members of the military and naval service, among whom I have many friends. I do not believe, however, in such deference to persons as may prevent the denunciation of wrong acts. I do not believe in crying "peace, peace," when there is no peace, but in taking the aggressive in maintaining human rights, so that we may force our opponents to close quarters. Admitting most fully that war has been one of the methods by which men have made progress, it seems to me that it is one of the unfit methods derived from brutes, which humanity has survived. Its advocates, on its alleged merits, may now be met with such ridicule and contempt as may shame them into ways of peace and righteousness. There are other persons in conspicuous positions, besides military and naval men, who advocate war, few of whom expose themselves to the dangers into which they entice others. The evil counsels of these should not be spared.

The promoters of war who present the "strenuous life" of the army and navy as one of merit, honor and credit in itself, often attempt to belittle their opponents by speaking of them as infected with the spirit of "mere commercialism," "seekers after gain, without broad sentiments either of piety or patriotism." Yet some of the most conspicuous of these advocates of the military life are themselves men whose opportunity for leisure and for such studies as have given to some of them what I call the nickname of "the scholar in politics," are men whose fortunes were attained by their ancestors in commerce. Again, the very atrocities which are now being committed by this country in the Philippine Islands, by Great Britain in South Africa, and by many nations in China, are justified by these same promoters of war, only for the reason that they are claimed to be means of extending the commerce which they pretend to treat with such contempt as an occupation.

True commerce rests upon mutual benefit and upon mutual service. It is of the domain of peace and order, upon which it rests for its true expansion. It is to the mutual profit of all who engage in it, both buyer and seller, both importer and exporter. That commerce which is enforced at the point of the bayonet and by the naval "commerce destroyers" is but rapine and plunder; it stands for gain secured at others' loss; it is unworthy the name of commerce; it is robbery, held in contempt by men of probity and integrity, who are the true leaders in commerce and industry.

Kant's vision of eternal peace through the force of true commerce is but deferred. I shall deal, however, only with one aspect of commerce as it proceeds on its way to the ultimate suppression of war. I shall speak only of the manner in which the evils of war—its dis-

honor, its fraud and its grotesque folly—are being brought into conspicuous notice by the force which commerce exerts in spite of the efforts of the military classes to retard its progress and to avert its influence. I call your attention to the development of the instruments of war by inventors and men of science: guns, smokeless powder, armored ships, submarine boats, and all the rest—made in great workshops and shipyards in which investments are made for purposes of profit, all of which are mere commercial enterprises.

The inventors of killing implements may never render war so dangerous as to stop it merely by making it more fatal to officers than to privates. Evils are not abated simply by material inventions or by physical forces. The moral forces and the moral energy of great communities must be aroused before the end can be fully attained. But even in arousing moral forces the inventors of killing implements have been most potent factors, because the necessary use of their implements has so altered the conduct of war. They have so changed the conditions which control the methods of modern warfare as to have deprived military men, even of the highest character when in command of armies, of their ability to carry on war without resort to every means that would disgrace the merchant, the banker or the man of affairs. The inventors of killing implements have compelled the great masters of the art of war to employ all the arts of deception: to spy, to mislead, to put falsehood into action, to ambush, to stab in the back, to get the advantage of having a better gun or a better engine or a better battleship, so as to deprive their opponents of any fair chance to resist; they are forced to burn, destroy and devastate; to turn women and children out of their homes; to violate churches and shrines, and to let their privates loot the plunder in which officers share. Yet in private life, in their relations each with the other in time of peace, these are men of the highest character.

Contrast modern methods with those of other days. In the days of chivalry the knight in armor met his opponent face to face in honorable contest. In the wars of the eighteenth century and in the greater part of the nineteenth, armies were arrayed within sight of each other; courage and endurance were the main factors, and at the push of pike or bayonet the struggle was decided by the man behind the gun—the great leaders truly leading, always supporting, and often, when the occasion demanded, being in the forefront of danger.

To what a pass have the inventors of killing implements brought these men of high repute! The battle flag can no longer be carried in the center of the regiment; no longer can the privates be rallied round the flag; no longer can the officer be distinguished either by his uniform, his epaulets or his sword, not even by keeping himself separate from the ranks of the privates, else he will be picked off by the trained sharp-shooter with a telescopic rifle discharged at so distant a point that it cannot be heard. In every great army there is now a special corps of these sharp-shooters who are instructed not to waste their powder on the privates, but to pick off the officers at every point of vantage. When there is no longer glory in warfare, and when to become an officer is to double, treble or quadruple the danger of suicide, the suppression of war by the force of commerce in killing implements will be near at hand.

It will come by rendering the conduct of war so base in its methods as to shock the moral sense of civilized men.

You will remark that all the great inventions in killing-implements or engines have been made by civilians. The works have been established for purposes of profit, and it is through the competition of the great private naval constructors, makers of guns and of high explosives, that the military men have been forced to these base and barbarous methods in their use. A few minor inventions have been made by soldiers, but neither naval nor military officers have ever invented any engine of war of any considerable importance. On the contrary, they have been compelled against their will to adopt the inventions of civilians, to change all their tactics, to lay off all their trappings, to keep their swords in their scabbards and to put mud on their accoutrements in order to save their lives from the sharp-shooters on the other side who use smokeless powder and kill at so great a distance that the explosion cannot be heard.

Only within the month has the news come to us that the Queen's steam yacht, built by naval contractors, cannot be used because she has tipped over or will do so. This fact has raised great alarm lest some of the most costly British battleships should be as unstable. We may also recall the fact that the Monitor, which was so effective in our Civil War, was the invention of a civilian, built by commercial men and almost forced upon our naval officers. When a British naval officer tried to improve on Ericsson's invention, his ship went to the bottom, and he with it. God speed the day when we can put all our great battleships into "innocuous desuetude" at the bottom of the sea.

Men bred in the military or naval service, who have developed in themselves the capacity that might have led to great inventions even in the art of war, have as a rule soon left the service, taking higher and more useful positions in the arts of peace. The great inventors who have had the capacity to develop the arts of killing, and who have made such progress in recent years, have had the common sense to keep to their own vocation; their names are seldom or never found among the military classes whom they have compelled to use their weapons. Success to these inventors! It is to be hoped and may be expected that the Holland submarine boat, the Maxim boat, the French submarine boats, of the success of which we have had such a glowing account, may soon render every one of the great battleships that we now have in our navy and every one on which we are about to waste millions of money, nothing but a collection of old junk unfit for any useful purpose, even within the first decade of the present century. One of these great inventors in correspondence with myself the other day remarked upon this subject, that if it had been left to the military men to make their own inventions they would have been fighting to-day with stone axes and wooden clubs.

While the conduct of war has thus rendered it necessary for men of high character and standing, many of whom I know and respect, to do acts which would disgrace any man occupied in commerce, other features of modern warfare have become more and more vicious. Standing armies are of necessity nurseries of vice, especially when required for service in the tropics. The unspeakable shame of this country at the present time cannot be told in words. It has become necessary to

organize in Manila the only licensed brothel that exists within our domain, in order to protect the troops from the worst consequences of vice. Over that establishment the flag of the United States now floats in Manila, and none have the right to demand that it shall be taken down so long as that flag is an emblem of force now being exerted in order to deprive the people of the Philippine Islands of their liberty. This effort, including the license to vice, is sustained by men who call themselves preachers of the gospel of peace, by bishops of the Christian churches, so-called, and by men who hold the positions which statesmen only ought to occupy. They are using their influence to induce their parishioners and other young men, who might in the pursuit of commerce attain welfare and repute, to enlist in an occupation in which vice will be sure to overtake one-half at least. In India and Hong Kong over five hundred in each thousand are in hospital every year as the penalty for vice. Our experience will be that of England, where by methods devised by the Royal College of Surgeons an effort is made with very partial success to prevent the corruption of the blood of England by the fourteen thousand soldiers returned annually from service in the tropics of India and other British dependencies. Yet bishops and preachers who repeat the Lord's prayer, "Lead us not into temptation," daily or weekly, are themselves the tempters of the young men of their congregations and others whom they influence to enter upon this life of vice.

What could be more grotesque, more ludicrous, if it were not so horrible, than this travesty of Christianity which is invoked in support of "criminal aggression" and destructive warfare upon a people who are striving to maintain their own liberty?

"But," asks some one, "would you abolish armies and navies?" No, not so long as brutal nations exist who may emulate our present brutal course and who might attack us in order to deprive us of our own liberty, as we have made war without authority of law upon the people of the Philippine Islands. I would have a national police like that of Canada, thoroughly trained for defensive purposes, and I would have protectors of commerce in the naval service to police the seas, not the ships which we now own under the dishonorable name and for the disgraceful purpose of "commerce destroyers."

We are told that we ought to have a larger army than twenty-five thousand for home service and protection. Why? Is not the country almost denuded of regular troops, and has it not been so for over two years? Who misses the troops? Where are the few regiments we now have within our own limits?—who knows? who cares? whose sleep is less sound? What we need is to maintain our peaceful relations with other nations, to supply their wants, to remain as we are, in spite of our present waste in warfare, the lightest taxed country for national purposes among those called civilized in the world; and by force of our competition in the pursuit of commerce to compel the states of Europe which remain subject to the blood tax of standing armies and war debts to yield to our supremacy in the arts of peace—that course will in truth make us the great World Power.

Our defense is in the service which we render in our

commerce. None can dare attack this country by force without risking the destruction of their own industries, so many of which rest for the supply of their food, their fuel, their timber, their metals and their fibres upon us. Our defense is in our power to benefit rather than to destroy the nations whom we serve.

This is not the place or time to speak of the financial aspect of the war with Spain or of the warfare upon the people of the Philippine Islands. Our national taxes for five years ending June 30, 1902, as disclosed by the official figures to date and by the estimates of the Secretary of the Treasury, will have been increased forty per cent. above the normal standard established under the excellent administration of President Hayes, continued under President Arthur, and even diminished under President Cleveland in his first administration, to which standard they had been very nearly brought back in his second term.

In five years of war and warfare this forty per cent. excess of expenditure will have amounted to nine hundred million dollars. But our present taxes, some of which are annoying and petty, are not yet burdensome. What we shall have wasted in five years of war and warfare would have sufficed to pay nine-tenths of the interest-bearing debt now outstanding.

When we force the government to cease from warfare, as we soon shall, restoring our expenditures to the normal standard of peace, order and industry, we might well continue to collect the present revenue per capita, applying the surplus to the reduction of debt, signaling the first decade of the twentieth century by becoming the first among nations that, having incurred a huge debt for the establishment of liberty throughout our domain, had paid that debt, principal and interest, almost within the term of one generation, by which it was incurred, and before the second generation had passed through a third of its allotted period. In this way the true spirit of commerce might be justified.

I cannot myself comprehend how men of high principle can now choose the profession of arms in this country, rendering themselves liable to take part in what General Lawton so truly stigmatized as "an accursed war." Many of them have been in the past and are now most earnest advocates of peace, even while deeming it their duty to obey orders in wars that are abhorrent to them. I hope the time is not far off when the profession of arms will fall into disrepute; when only police service will call for force. It is not yet so, and the present leaders or masters of the art of war retain their individual integrity and their personal love of truth. Witness the manner in which General McArthur has lately told the truth about the condition in the Philippine Islands; witness the stern integrity of General Anderson and General Greene, and the way in which many other officers of the army and navy have told the truth and shamed—whom?—the devil? No, they have shamed the so-called Peace Commissioners and the political partisans who have suppressed the truth and have issued during the political campaign the false reports which are now being exposed in respect to the conditions in the Philippines.

As surely as God reigns will the truth prevail and will this nation yet be redeemed from the disgrace and dishonor of its present course.

The Induration of War.

Among the hateful brood of the Philippine blunder, none is likely to bring with it more permanent mischief than this new militarism. Since the close of the civil strife there has been a marked recrudescence of the war temper. Our magazines have spread before the public, with inexhaustible reiteration, the events and characters of the war. The Grand Army has been in constant evidence. We have been shaking off the quiet ways and spiritual contentment of citizens, and taking on the childish emulation and sensuous display of a people who find too little in life to make it worth living. We want some one on whom to relieve the tension of our muscles, to take the prickling out of our blood. What does this stand for but the old story over again—at the one extreme of society unrestrained brutal impulses, at the other cold-blooded cynicism, with no sympathetic apprehension of the sufferings or the wants of the world? The induration of war strikes broad and deep and holds down the superior life under the ruling passions of the brute. Are we once more to take a direction whose wisdom is disproved by the entire rational rendering of the world? Militarism, in spite of its protestations, can never be a means to peace, for it is the universal law of life that like begets like. Violence cannot furnish an exit from violence. He who draws the sword shall perish by the sword.

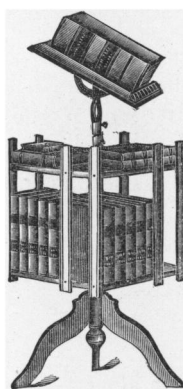
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